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"It is a shock which forcibly brings home to us the supreme danger facing mankind, the imperative necessity for peace and the urgent need to sign a treaty for complete and general disarmament."
—President Nkrumah of Ghana at Belgrade, Sept. 2, 1961

THE DECLARATION OF MOSCOW

New Soviet tests impress on world the danger of war

By David Wesley

CITING the "red-hot" international tension "fanned up" by the U.S. and its allies over Soviet proposals for a German peace treaty, the U.S.S.R. announced on Aug. 31 that it would resume testing of nuclear weapons. It said Soviet scientists were prepared to test 100-megaton superbombs (5,000 times the explosive power of the Hiroshima bomb). Two days later Washington asserted that the Soviets had fired off a medium-range nuclear blast; there was no confirmation in Moscow of this or a reported second explosion Sept. 4.

"Fully conscious of the importance and responsibility of this serious step," Moscow issued a 6,000-word explanatory statement in which it declared that the West was "threatening to take to arms and to unleash war" if the U.S.S.R. signed a German peace treaty with East Germany. It said the Soviet Union did not intend to repeat "the tragedy" of its unpreparedness at the start of the Hitler attack on Russia in June, 1941.

REPEATED WARNINGS: Although the momentous Soviet decision dismayed both its friends and foes around the world, the announcement should not have been so much of a surprise as it seemed to be. On some half-dozen occasions at the Geneva test-ban talks since March, Soviet negotiator Semyon Tsarapkin had warned of such an action if France continued its nuclear testing. At no time in the discussions have the U.S. and British negotiators taken any note of these warnings: nor has France indicated any intention to discontinue its tests.

The Soviet statement, however, made clear that the timing of the decision was determined by the Kennedy Administration's threats of war over Soviet-East German insistence on a neutralized free city of West Berlin. The statement also noted that "it is an open secret that the United States is standing at the threshold of carrying out underground nuclear explosions"—tests which would probably not be detectable. In response to these threats, Moscow said, it was necessary "to discourage the aggressor from criminal playing with fire" by "making sure that he knows and sees that . . . the hand of retribution will reach the aggressor in his own den."

FIRST RESPONSE: But almost universally the first reaction to the Soviet announcement was that it was contributing to the parlous world situation, as well as reviving the menace of fallout. In Tokyo ban-the-bomb proponents deplored the move (see Spectator, p. 8). In the U.S. Dr. Linus Pauling and the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) issued denunciations. In Britain the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament staged a protest march and its leader Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral called on Moscow to reverse the decision, as had Dr. Pauling. Danish nuclear disarmers also marched, and Bertrand Russell's Committee of 100 sat down near the Soviet Embassy in London.

In Belgrade, where the leaders of 24 unaligned nations were arriving for a neutralist summit conference when Moscow dropped its bombshell, there was shock, alarm and resentment. India's Nehru, Yugoslavia's Tito and the U.A.R.'s Nasser, though cautious in their responses, spoke somberly of the darkening war clouds.

It remained for Ghana's President

(Continued on Page 4)

12 pages next week

With its next issue, dated Sept. 18, the GUARDIAN will return to its usual 12-page format after its summertime 8-page editions.

BACKGROUND TO CIVIL WAR?

The Brazilian crisis was long in the making

By Robert E. Light

ON APRIL 1, two months after he took office, Brazilian President Janio da Silva Quadros predicted: "By August first I may not have a friend left in this country." About three weeks beyond that anticipated date Quadros resigned—forced out, he said, by "some ambitious groups and individuals from inside and also from outside."

Quadros' motives are not yet clear, but if he planned to demonstrate his indispensability as the nation's stabilizer, he could not have done better. At GUARDIAN press time Brazil was on the verge of a civil war over the nation's future.

On Quadros' resignation, War Minister Marshal Odilio Denys, backed by other military leaders and some political figures, announced that Vice President Joao Goulart, who was in China concluding a trade agreement, was unacceptable as a successor. Although the constitution clearly established Goulart's succession, the military men said he was "too left." To them the issue was "communism or Brazil."

When Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott, Goulart's running mate against Quadros in 1960, broadcast an appeal for Goulart, Denys arrested him and his aides. Police and soldiers broke up demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia and Recife. Public meetings were banned and strict censorship was imposed.

WIDE SUPPORT: Meanwhile Goulart went to Paris from Hong Kong to meet a delegation of senators who brought the latest news from home. Goulart had wide support in Congress and among some state governors. Unions and students threatened a general strike and the peasant leagues were also behind him.

In Goulart's home state of Rio Grande do Sul, Gov. Leonel Brizola, Goulart's brother-in-law, denounced Denys. Gen. Jose Machado Lopes, commander of the Third Army in Rio Grande do Sul, refused to take orders from Denys. In neighboring Parana, the Legislature voted support for Goulart. Former President Juscelino Kubitschek called for his inauguration.

Others sought a compromise to avert civil war. Congress approved a plan to establish a parliamentary system with a ceremonial president (presumably Goulart) and a strong premier chosen by Congress. Many seemed to fear that if the people took up arms they would not stop at installing Goulart, but might institute revolutionary reforms, as in Cuba.

HERO'S GREETING: Goulart returned to Rio Grande do Sul, Sept. 1, via New York and Montevideo, to a hero's welcome from 100,000 persons. He said he was ready to go to Brasilia to accept the presidency under the changed constitution because "I am a slave of the law."

Denys and the other military insurgents hedged on the constitutional compromise. They stalled while marines and navy ships moved against the Third Army. Finally, they agreed to accept Goulart in a limited presidency.

Meanwhile, 13,000 dock workers called a strike in support of Goulart and tied up the Rio port. Leaders of 37 other unions called for a general strike. A string of unlicensed radio stations, called the "network of legality," began broadcasting in support of Goulart. Strict censorship limited reports of their activity.

JOAO GOULART
Too left for the right

Goulart was scheduled to arrive in Brasilia for his inauguration Sept. 5, but that morning he was warned to stay away from the capital because a group of air force officers, allegedly acting against orders of their chiefs, had taken over the airport and threatened to shoot him on arrival. At GUARDIAN press time Goulart was still in Rio Grande do Sul.

LONG QUARREL: Goulart has long had differences with the military. He was forced to resign as Labor Minister in

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THE MAIL BAG

Arrogance on Berlin

BURBANK, CALIF.

The United States prospered in World War II. This country was not ravaged, nor our children killed or put into gas ovens. On the other hand, France was devastated, some of its people tortured; Britain was bombed. And the Soviet Union, the power that stopped Hitler at Stalingrad, lost 15 million killed; millions more endured (or were crushed to death by) slavery; homes, hospitals, schools, powerplants, factories were demolished over vast areas.

Yet it was the Red Army that took Berlin, planted the flag atop the Reichstag building, and invited the others who had fought Hitler—Britain, U.S. and France (which was conquered)—to meet and discuss reparations in a specified building in Berlin. Then (1945) the idea was that the world must be assured "never again could Germany wage war"; that Germany must repair the appalling property devastation she had caused. The cost in human life never could be repaid.

This idea of reparations our officials blithely have forgotten.

And our legislators acquiesce. God help America, say I.

John Manning

A million 'NOs'

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I suggest that everyone opposed to war in general, and to war for the greater glory of Germany in particular, should send the White House a simple postcard, with signed name and address, bearing simply the word "NO." After a while, even the Pentagon won't be stupid enough not to guess that "NO" refers to a war over Berlin. One million "NOs" on signed, open postcards might even produce the miracle of making the Pentagon think! One million "NOs" will be more than even the FBI can handle in a jiffy.

Bodo Ohly

Why Berliners worry

BERLIN, G.D.R.

Progressive forces in Berlin were determined to democratize life in their city from the ground up. At the beginning of 1947, 118 out of the 130 members of the united Berlin Municipal Council adopted the "Law on the Transfer of Monopolistic Enterprises to Public Ownership." The western commandants, however, forbade the enforcement of this decision in "their" sectors. Many trusts which had actively supported the Hitler system, and which bore a heavy responsibility for its war of conquest, including Siemens, AEG and Lorenz, resumed production. More than 200 business concerns had already been licensed to resume operations in Berlin's west sectors by the end of 1947.

The American military government removed the anti-fascist works director from the Lorenz works; his place was taken by the former Nazi director. Nazi manager Benkert resumed his position as the head of the Siemens works. Similar changes likewise took place in the Thyssen works and other West Berlin enterprises. All this occurred in the first post-war years.

And what has been the result? Today more than two dozen West Berlin enterprises are producing military equipment for the West German army! Is it not understandable that we Berliners are deeply concerned over this situation?

Gunther Grabow

Kennedy and Bolivar

QUEENS, N.Y.

President Kennedy gratified Spanish-Americans by recalling the statement of Simon Bolivar 150 years ago that "a free America is the hope of the universe."

Simon Bolivar destroyed imperialistic shackles in South America with the aid of other gallant liberators. He envisioned a free, independent, sovereign Spanish America, from Mexico to Argentine to the Spanish Antilles.

The occupation of Puerto Rico by U.S. armed forces, during a 63-year period, runs counter to the Bolivarian goal, as does the occupation of Cuban soil—Guantanamo; the occupation of the Panama Canal (Panama was detached from Colombia by force of arms); and the occupation of Isla del Cisne (Swan Island) off Honduras.

Is the U.S. ready to honor Bolivar?

If the answer is YES, the U.S. should start proclaiming absolute freedom in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Panama and the territory of Honduras.

Vanguardia Betances
Puerto Rico's Mission for Freedom

Senior citizens, unite

TAMWORTH, N.H.

There are 17 million Americans over 65 years of age. Half of them have incomes of less than $776 a year. There are 49 million Americans past 45 years of age—and even Congress admits that when a man loses his job when he is past 40, his chances of getting a decent job again are slim.

The older folk of America are the ones who made America great, rich and powerful by their long hours of hard work at low wages.

As automation increases more and more Americans will be sent to the slag heap, the industrial or commercial dump heap, regardless of age. There are 1,500,000 young Americans under 19 who cannot find a job. If all the jobless, including those who are underemployed, working only a few hours a week, were counted, there would be a count of 10,000,000 unemployed today.

"To provide for the common defense" is the favorite clause in the Constitution's preamble—and whenever more funds are requested for the armed services for weapons of destruction and death, Congressmen almost fall over each other to vote "aye." One cause of the fall of the Roman Empire was the building of gigantic armaments when the real enemy was within, the decadence of the people.

Let us organize before it is too late, we older Americans who still have morals, ethics, backbone and faith.

Irma C. Otto

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

COLUMBUS, OHIO (AP)—The commander of one of America's nuclear weapon striking forces says he has found divine guidance an absolute must in his life. "It's the basic concept that has made our country strong," says Maj. Eugene J. Budnik, a 40-year-old Air Force officer.

Each of the more than 20 air crews in Budnik's 515th Bomb Squadron flies a B-47 capable of delivering more destructive forces than all the military planes used on all the aerial missions of World War II.

—Philadelphia **Evening Bulletin, Aug. 25**

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M.C.P., Reading, Pa.

Serrano in the Wall Street Journal

"Do you have a sympathy card for someone whose vacation is over?"

A stay for Garcia

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

We of the "Life for Garcia" committee wish to thank GUARDIAN readers who responded to our plea for protests (GUARDIAN, Aug. 14). Jesse has received a stay of execution until Sept. 25, when a hearing will be held.

Though we realize that the strong influence of ethnic discrimination makes capital punishment in the U.S. a civil rights issue, we did not plan our drive for commutation on that basis. However, the immediate and widespread response of the Mexican-American people manifests their awareness of the discriminatory nature of the death penalty.

We have now, we believe, a real chance to save the life of this young boy. Pleas for commutation to Governor George D. Clyde are still earnestly solicited.

Ethel C. Hale, Secy.
Life for Garcia Committee

The work goes on

SAPULPA, OKLA.

I place the GUARDIAN at the top
So I regret to have it stop.
Because of my exceeding age
I often cannot read a page.
My reading days shall soon be o'er
Then I shall read and write no more,
But when my days are past and gone
The great work you shall carry on,
The priceless gigs which you stick in
Will prick them where the skin is thin
Good luck to you, I wish you well,
Stay on the job, give Capitalism hell.

J. A. Mooney

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ALL OVER WESTERN EUROPE the armies marched. Maneuvers extended from Britain to Italy. Giant U.S. bombers made daily "dry" A-bomb runs from bases in Britain to Saudi Arabia and back. U.S. truck and tank convoys crawled over French and Belgian roads; U.S. engineers speeded construction of military highways.

U.S. troops were in occupation in 57 of France's departments, using or building 25 airfields, 18 equipment and fuel dumps. In Morocco, **U. S. News** reported Sept. 7, the U.S. "is rushing construction of gigantic war bases from which American war planes can roam the skies over Western Europe and much of the Soviet world. These super-airfields—almost unheard of by Americans at home—are being hurried into working order . . . They dwarf most of the military airfields of the world."

—From the National Guardian, Sept. 12, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

The Soviet bombshell

ON THE SOVIET DECISION to resume atomic bomb testing—a step our own government is fully prepared to take in Nevada and elsewhere (N.Y. **Times**, 9/1) and had been planning to take in a matter of days or weeks—the burden of press reportage and comment has been thus far completely in line with Secy. of State Rusk's view that "this business of the Soviet Union ought to soak in hard—soak in hard everywhere."

To get the most out of the propaganda advantage the U.S. and NATO powers are convinced the U.S.S.R. has handed them, the U.S. resumption of testing was to be delayed "at least until world indignation against the Soviet Union [has] been fully exploited," according to the **Times** report of a meeting of President Kennedy and the National Security Council with Congressional leaders. Kennedy asked, the **Times** said, that the legislators restrict speeches and other appeals for an immediate resumption of testing by the U.S. The response for a ban on atmosphere tests would seem to be a part of the strategy. It almost certainly was made in the knowledge that Moscow would find it inadequate.

DESPITE THE BOMBAST in the press, the cant in the White House statements to date, and the busy quest of commentators to discover hidden Soviet motives in the decision, there is no reason that the ample Soviet statement of which the **Times** published excerpts (Aug. 31) should not be taken at its full face value.

The statement repeats what the Soviet Union has stated many times previously—that it seeks complete world disarmament and will accept any Western proposal for interim test bans, inspection and controls in the context of negotiations for full disarmament.

Correctly, it points out that during the three-year period of the test moratorium by the U.S., Britain and the U.S.S.R., a NATO power, France, has continued testing. What, it asks, would be the Western reaction had Czechoslovakia, for example, initiated a series of tests while a moratorium was presumably in force among the major powers?

It is presumably correct, also, in the view that initiating the moratorium at a time when the U.S. and Britain had conducted many more tests than had the U.S.S.R., represented "a certain risk" which is made explicit by the repeated U.S. claims to a "larger and more sophisticated arsenal of nuclear weapons"—an arsenal that one U.S. participant in the President's conference found "hair-raising."

So the Soviets, seeing the handwriting on the wall at every turn since the Kennedy Administration took command, felt forced to a decision the import of which they again correctly foresaw would be favored by few in the world: to be "completely prepared to render harmless any aggressor if he tried to launch an attack." The statement recalled Hitler's attack in 1941 on an unprepared U.S.S.R.—an event "too fresh in the memory of people to allow this to happen now."

ALONG WITH ALL peace-seeking people, we hate the bomb and oppose and fear the testing—even the tests of so-called peaceful uses of atomic energy which may add to the world's burden of fallout through inadequate or careless safeguards. We believe that the world can enjoy security and undertake progress only under complete world disarmament, with the stockpiles of bombs dismantled and peaceful atomic tests most carefully conducted.

We dare not underestimate the mischief that may be done in the guise of protest against the U.S.S.R. for deciding to resume nuclear tests. We had hoped that Soviet patience—though tested to the breaking point — might endure, and that world pressure might prevent further U.S. and British tests and stop de Gaulle. Yet we cannot condemn the Soviet Union for its decision without condemning as we have for more than a decade the prodding, saber-rattling, encirclement and provocation aimed at the socialist world since the death of President Roosevelt in 1945.

NOW THERE IS NO WISHING AWAY the dread fact that the race of overkill is on anew between the two great blocs of the world. Nevertheless there is a third force in the world, the neutralism which Dulles called "immoral"; the nations occupying the middle position in the troika plan the Soviets have proposed to administer world bodies. Both K's sent messages to the neutral nations' conference in Belgrade. It is the world's best hope that the uncommited nations of the world can and will reply to these messages with the full authority of world majority opinion for a halt now to the nuclear arms race and a new approach to full disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE 'MASTER SPY' MYTH—III

Soblen trial offers no proof but casts light on FBI role

By William Reuben

This is the third article in a series on the trial of Dr. Robert Soblen.

THE FIRST ARTICLE in this series considered the startling disclosures brought out during cross-examination of the prosecution's star witness, Dr. Robert Soblen's brother, Jack Soble: That he himself had never trafficked in any way with information relating to national defense; that the only "information" he ever gave to any Russian dealt solely, as he phrased it, with his "contacts in the field of Trotskyites, Mensheviks, and work among Zionists"; that since his arrest in 1957 he himself has had to undergo almost constant psychiatric treatment, and was officially diagnosed by Federal psychiatric authorities as psychotic.

Soble admitted that for the first ten weeks after his arrest in January, 1957, he had insisted he was innocent, and that, when he entered a plea of guilty in April to avoid a possible death penalty, he did so despite the explicit advice of his own attorney, noted criminal lawyer George Wolf, that he had never violated any U.S. law.

The defense also got government witness Floyd Miller to admit that whatever it was he might have done, either by himself or with the defendant, none of the acts had either harmed the U.S. or had anything to do with national defense.

TYPIST'S ROLE: The cross-examination of Johanna Beker, on the other hand, brought out many facts which, when added to the outline of the story she told on direct examination, went far to suggest that her dealings with Dr. Soblen 15 years ago constituted a routine employer - employe relationship with perhaps personal aspects, rather than one relating to espionage. Cross-examination revealed that Mrs. Beker was employed by Dr. Soblen as a typist, that she typed medical reports for him as part of his duties with the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) for which Dr. Soblen was then working.

It was further disclosed that throughout this three-year period of meetings with Dr. Soblen Mrs. Beker was not married; that they met after-hours at night in her apartment; and that she, on at least one occasion, received money from him to help furnish the apartment.

A PERSONAL MATTER: Although her direct examination implied that her dealings with Dr. Soblen related only to political intrigues and national defense secrets, there was no suggestion of such matter when defense attorney Joseph Brill asked the witness to tell what she and Dr. Soblen talked about at these meetings. Thus:

Q. Well, the discussions that you had with the defendant, were they in connection with German political factions, or were they not, in the United States?

A. No, it was more of a personal matter. . . . We did not discuss political matters . . . [we discussed] the war . . . one's livelihood in the United States, one's well being.

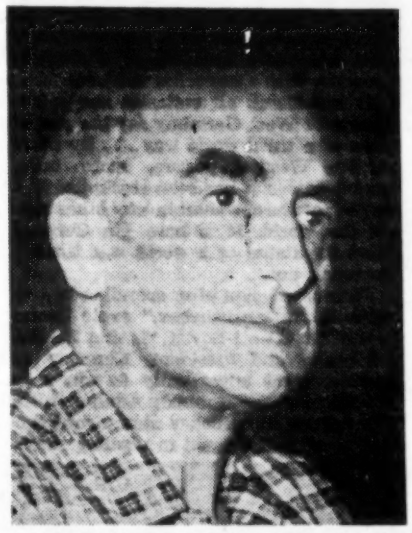
It was also brought out that Mrs. Beker's direct testimony was completely different from, and wholly irreconcilable with, signed statements to the FBI.

Cross-examination elicited the disclosure that FBI agents had been questioning Mrs. Beker continually since 1952. In all she gave 28 statements to the FBI.

In 1957, she gave a sworn statement to the FBI that all her adult life she had been a-political and anti-communist. When Brill asked whether the statement was true, Mrs. Beker declared in a tone of outraged indignation that it was true in 1957 and still true.

'NO ESPIONAGE': Confronted with another 1957 statement, in which she had told the FBI under oath that she had never engaged in espionage or subversive activities of any kind, she admitted making the statement; but added, "Yes, I did so because I was afraid."

The defense view of all this, as summed up by Brill, was that the government had failed to show the existence of conspiracy. Proof that it existed, Brill argued, depended entirely on the unsupported word of Jack Soble, a man who "behaved like a wild man" on the witness stand and who clearly showed that "he was unable to distinguish between fantasy and reality." Soble's testimony, Brill told the jury, "should be thrown out entirely . . . because it is the ravings of a madman."



JACK SOBLE (LEFT) AND HIS DYING BROTHER, DR. ROBERT SOBLEN
Testimony of a psychotic 'master spy' helped convict the doctor

ON INFERENCE: Mrs. Beker's testimony, Brill told the jury, was the "only charge on which the government wants you to convict this defendant of espionage." The prosecution had offered no evidence, Brill said, to support Mrs. Beker's story that she received from Hans Hirschfeld and the late Dr. Horst Baerensprung, part-time consultants with the Office of Strategic Services, reports she said she submitted to Dr. Soblen.

"If this defendant was interested in obtaining political information . . . it would not be a violation of our espionage laws," Brill said, even though the information came from two O.S.S. employees. The government did not produce, Brill said, any evidence whatsoever relating to the O.S.S. data that Mrs. Beker said she had collected.

"This case is built on inferences upon inferences," Brill told the jury. "Facts are not present."

The import of this same testimony, as the prosecution viewed it, was delineated by Asst. U.S. Atty. Casey in his summation. It was necessary to offer evidence dealing with Dr. Soblen's political activities during the 20s and 30s to establish the defendant's motive and intent in the period covered by the indictment, 1940-60. His willingness to engage in espionage between January, 1940, and November, 1960, could be measured, said Casey, by Soblen's Communist Party activities in the 20s and 30s. It was "incomprehensible," said Casey, that Soblen, active in left-wing politics in those days, would have later been interested only in getting information about Trotskyite activities.

THE CHARGE: It was also important, the prosecutor added, to remember that the government did not charge Soblen with "obtaining any information relating to national defense." The indictment, said Casey, accused him merely of having conspired to obtain such information and to transmit it to the Soviet Union.

All the government needed to prove, said Casey, was that a conspiracy did exist; and that some member of it (not necessarily the defendant) obtained information about national defense.

The government had proved that a conspiracy existed, the prosecutor said, through Jack Soble's unrefuted [but unsupported—Ed.] testimony relating to Lavrenti Beria's instruction through him to his family "to go abroad and obtain any and all information of value to the Russians."

The second element—that some member of the charged conspiracy did obtain information—Casey said was established through Mrs. Beker's testimony that she picked up reports from the two German refugees, Dr. Baerensprung and Hirschfeld, and gave them to Dr. Soblen. The young prosecutor defined "national defense" as "a broad, generic term . . . It is anything related to our national preparedness."

MOTION DENIED: All through the trial it was hard to determine whether, in the eyes of the prosecutor, Soblen was on trial because he had been an active Communist 40 years ago in Lithuania, or for conspiracy to commit espionage in World War II U.S. and after. When the prosecution ended its presentation and before the case went to the jury, the defense unsuccessfully sought to dismiss all of Jack Soble's testimony about his and his brother's political activities during the 20s and 30s. This evidence, Brill argued, had nothing to do with espionage; and antedated by 20 years the date fixed in the indictment as the beginning of the conspiracy. Judge Herlands dismissed the motion.

NEW EVIDENCE: A host of questions about the trial, and particularly about the activities of the FBI in the case, remain to be answered. But answers to two key questions need not be delayed. One explanation for the prosecution's failure to back up any of Mrs. Beker's statements about Hirschfeld and Dr. Baerensprung was forthcoming a few weeks after the end of the trial. On Aug. 7, at the time Dr. Soblen was sentenced, Brill told the court that he was preparing a motion for a new trial on grounds of newly discovered evidence. He said he had affidavits from two former O.S.S. men, H. Stuart Hughes, professor of history at Harvard University, and Herbert Marcuse, professor of philosophy at Brandeis College, stating that neither Hirschfeld nor Baerensprung had worked in a confidential capacity at O.S.S., and indicating that neither could possibly have had access to information about an atom bomb project or anything else of a secret nature.

Brill told this reporter that a letter had arrived late in August from Hirschfeld and it was also being used as the basis for a new-trial motion. In the letter Hirschfeld told Brill he had never known Mrs. Beker and had never seen her. Hirschfeld, now living in West Germany, where he is widely known as an anti-Communist journalist, offered to come to this country to testify at a new trial. He told Brill he was perplexed in view of the fact that when he was in this country, he had testified several times before the grand jury and told it he had never had any dealings with Mrs. Beker.

This helps to explain a second peculiar element in the government's case: Why the dead Dr. Baerensprung had been indicted as a co-conspirator, but not the living Hirschfeld.

Other curious aspects of Dr. Soblen's trial, the first on charges of espionage for an American citizen since the Rosenberg-Sobell trial a decade ago, will be examined next week.

You won't see this exclusive Guardian story elsewhere—why not clip it and send it to a friend?

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CARNEGIE HALL Fri., Sept. 22 8:30 P.M.

New Soviet tests

(Continued from Page 1)

Nkrumah in Belgrade to come closest to assessing the Soviet purpose. He gave this reaction to the Moscow declaration.

"This was a shock to me, as it must have been to you all. But it is a shock which forcibly brings home to us the supreme danger facing mankind, the imperative necessity for peace and the urgent need to sign a treaty for complete and general disarmament."

IN DEADLY EARNEST: In confirmation, British Labor MPs Sir Leslie Plummer and Konni Zilliacus (a frequent GUARDIAN contributor) reported on a three-hour session with Premier Khrushchev at Yalta Sept. 1. Sir Leslie said:

"He is in deadly earnest. He obviously intends to shock the world and this was no flash in the pan."

Thus, the shock wave from the blast was not only expected but intended. To the Russians, who, since Vienna, have begun forming an estimate of German rearmament in collusion with the West—similar to that made during the Hitler rearmament period—the absence of a sufficient degree of alarm and protest in the rest of the world to the danger of war has become a contributory factor in the rising peril.

What produced the grim Russian estimate is the West's mystifying failure to take any cognizance whatever of the Soviet proposal for a four-power German peace treaty that would provide all necessary guarantees for an independent West Berlin and seal the German borders agreed to at Potsdam. The Western response, instead, has been to launch elaborate—but inadequate, except in nuclear terms—military preparations to meet expected trouble upon the signing of a Soviet-East German peace treaty—an act Khrushchev has projected only as an unwanted, though necessary alternative to the four-power pact.

PEARSON INTERVIEW: In a lengthy interview late last month with syndicated columnist Drew Pearson, Khrushchev spoke of Washington's exclusively military response, culminating in reinforcement in the West Berlin garrison. He told Pearson: "This is a clear threat. All these fan the military psychosis. We have to judge governments by their actions, and it is quite clear that the United States is now threatening us."

"I would understand this," he continued, "if we were encroaching on the United States. But we are not demanding any territory . . . We have no claims on anyone. We are only proposing that what's already come into being now be codified . . . The borders of the two Germanys have now taken shape and we demand that they be codified."

THE FLAME OF WAR: In his most recent television talk to the Russian people, the Soviet leader explained the reason for insisting on that demand now: "We cannot view with indifference how the aggressive quarters of the Western powers, with Chancellor Adenauer's help, are mobilizing all material and spiritual forces of West Germany for the preparation of a third world war . . . By the will of the Western powers, more inflammable material has been stockpiled in the center of Europe than in any other region of the world. It is here [in Germany] that the flame of a world war threatens to break out."

"My conclusion after spending two days with Nikita Khrushchev," wrote Pearson, a confirmed anti-Soviet, "is that the United States and President Kennedy still have a great opportunity to win a real friend." But the Kennedy Administration, the recent Khrushchev statements show, has succeeded instead in pushing the Soviet Premier toward the "extremist" Chinese position it has consistently deplored. Peking was the one capital in East or West that immediately welcomed the Soviet announcement.

Abu in The Observer, London

"Besides, in our system we had a public opinion!"

TO THE PUBLIC: But while the test resumption decision was clearly meant, by its shock value, to give force to these increasingly dire Soviet warnings that the West is "playing with fire," the shock wave, it is apparent, was also meant to propel public opinion in a specific direction: to put full steam behind the Soviet campaign for total disarmament.

It is true that the new Soviet step is in stark contrast to its 1958 initiative that produced the test moratorium. But what hasn't filtered through to the minds of Western policy-makers is that the historic Soviet call of September, 1959, for fully-inspected total disarmament—made at the UN by Khrushchev himself, and buttressed last fall by an offer to accept in advance any Western control plan—that this call rendered obsolete all forms of partial arms control, including an isolated test ban. On the contrary, in the Soviet view, any such limited scheme now served primarily to divert attention from disarmament.

A PLEA RENEWED: The all-out Soviet disarmament offensive gives the Russian bomb-test decision a substantially different look from a similar decision that might have been made by the U.S. Indeed the Russians placed as ominous a construction on U.S. refusal to respond to the Soviet disarmament plan as they put on U.S. rejection of a German peace treaty. Focusing attention on this part of the Russian case in the statement accompanying the test announcement, Moscow renewed its pleas to "disband armies to the last soldier, to completely abolish general staffs and military institutions." It declared that "the main thing in our days is disarmament, general and complete, and an agreement on such disarmament would cover the question of nuclear testing." After reiterating its pledge to accept any Western inspection plan, the statement demands: "What can be the explanation for the fact that no specific proposals on that score have yet followed from the Western powers?"

REACTION IN WEST: As the Russians clearly hoped, this alternative to continued nuclear testing was quickly seized upon in many capitals. Belgian Foreign Minister Paul Henri Spaak greeted the Soviet announcement with a call for Western announcement of a "positive program" for peaceful solution of world problems. Foreign Minister Osten Unden of Sweden urged speedy resumption of disarmament negotiations and called on the Neutralists to exert their influence toward this end. At Belgrade, where Washington expected a great "propaganda victory" from the Soviet step, the neutralist leaders, despite evident alarm over the Soviet decision, interpreted it as a barometer of the deteriorating international climate. They put their emphasis on disarmament and Berlin negotiations and on ending the tensions-loaded remains of colonialism. The Africans, in fact, blamed France for the Soviet action.

Washington insiders said the Administration was going to milk the Soviet announcement for all its propaganda advantage before announcing its own resumption of nuclear tests. As part of this offensive, on Sept. 4 President Kennedy and British Prime Minister Macmillan proposed that Moscow agree immediately to discontinue testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere "to protect mankind." This would leave the way clear to test the weapons in outer space and underground; in the latter category Washington has made no secret of its elaborate preparations for such tests.

There was no reaction from Moscow at press time. But in Belgrade, as the meeting of the neutral nations was ending, there was in preparation an urgent call both to Khrushchev and Kennedy for a personal meeting to begin efforts toward real and lasting disarmament.

THE UN DEBATE: As it should be, the forthcoming UN General Assembly session will be the main arena for world airing of the portentous new development; and it requires no prescience to foresee that, rather than undermining the Russian position there as a seeker of peace, the Soviet test decision will put the Russians in a more persuasive position than ever before to shove the disarmament offensive into high gear. For many delegates the Soviet disarmament offensive can be expected to outpace U.S. pleas for an obsolescent and incomplete test ban separated from the other equally essential disarmament measures.

While the Assembly may adopt a resolution calling for resumption of test-ban talks, even one condemning resumption of tests (which the French and possibly others would spurn as well as the U.S.S.R.), it will also have to urge a resumption of negotiations for "general and complete" disarmament, and this will be the key decision.

The wave of the future is disarmament, not a test ban. Man, as the Soviet Union has been the first Great Power in history to recognize, cannot live by dread alone.

LITIGATION IS DROPPED IN MELISH CASE

Legal battle over Trinity Church ends

A 12-YEAR BATTLE between the congregation of Holy Trinity Church in Brooklyn Heights and the Episcopal Bishop of Long Island ended Aug. 23 when both sides agreed to drop all litigation. The way was thus cleared for reopening the church after four years, but under the bishop's control.

The conflict began in 1949 when a majority of the church's vestrymen removed Rev. John Howard Melish, their rector since 1904, because of his support of his son, Rev. William Howard Melish, who had been attacked for his support of progressive causes. An angered congregation named the younger Melish as rector in his father's place. Bishop James P. DeWolfe refused to confirm the election, but Melish continued as supply priest (acting rector) through six lawsuits, fights in church conventions and efforts in the State Legislature to pass a law to permit his dismissal.

In January, 1956, DeWolfe, working with a faction in the vestry, sent Rev. Herman Sidener to replace Melish. A meeting of the vestry at which Melish supporters were not present had voted to replace him. Pro-Melish parishioners and vestrymen formed a committee to fight to retain democratic control of the church. A struggle for spiritual and physical control of the church continued until July, 1957, when DeWolfe ordered the church closed. A diocesean convention declared the church extinct in May, 1960. The battle then continued in the courts.

The parishioners' committee agreed to drop its claim and the pro-Melish vestrymen resigned in hope that the bishop would reopen the church.

The committee said that it expected that the elder Melish would be allowed to stay in the rectory and that his pension would continue. The younger Melish is now New York and New England representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a group fighting segregation in the South.

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SEATTLE

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The Brazilian crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

1953 by the army because of alleged sympathies with Argentine President Juan Peron. He survived that defeat to come back in 1955 as Vice President and to be re-elected in 1960, although his running mate, Marshal Lott, lost to Quadros.

Goulart is a wealthy rancher with a law degree who entered politics in 1946 as a protege of Getulio Vargas, who had just been deposed from the presidency after 15 years. He helped Vargas organize the Brazilian Labor Party and was elected its representative in the Rio Grande do Sul State Legislature. He served as a member of the Federal Chamber of Deputies until Vargas, again President, appointed him Labor Minister.

The Labor Party, which Goulart now heads, has strong support in the unions. It also has right- and left-wing factions which Goulart seems to straddle. Goulart has said that "there is no room in Brazil for communism." However, the outlawed but strong Brazilian Communist Party supported him in 1955 and 1960. In the last election Goulart spoke from the same platform with CP general secy. Luis Carlos Prestes.

MERGER REPORT: On Jan. 22, the New York **Times** reported that Goulart had agreed to merge his Labor Party with Francisco Juliao's Socialist Party, the organization of the peasant leagues of the agricultural northeast. According to the **Times** the merger was arranged in Moscow, where the Brazilians were visiting. There have been no further reports of the merger.

Should Goulart succeed to office he will find enormous economic and political problems, although he may be better equipped than Quadros to meet them, particularly with peasant league support.

When Quadros took office Jan. 31, he inherited a foreign debt of $3 billion and a domestic budget deficit of more than $1 billion. Across the nation, Brazilians were demanding lower living costs, which had increased 40% in December alone. In the Northeast, peasants demanded land reform and took over estates.

Of Brazil's 67 million people, 40 million are illiterate; half are without shoes. Iodine deficiency causes goiter in every sixth person; one out of three has intestinal hookworms. There is only one doctor for every 5,000 persons. In rural areas every other baby dies before it is a year old. The national average life span is 46 years; in the U.S. it is 69.4.

THE PEOPLE ARE SOLIDLY BEHIND GOULART
Police used tear gas to break up a rally in Rio de Janeiro

GRAFT RAMPANT: Corruption in government is a way of life in Brazil. It is the most graft-ridden country in South America, where such practices are almost taken for granted. It is also common to let the military into government for its share of the take.

Kubitschek came to the presidency in 1955 with the slogan, "Fifty years' progress in five." He spent enormous sums to develop auto and appliance industries and to build roads. His largest project was to build a new capital, Brasilia, in a wasteland 1,000 miles from Rio de Janeiro, at a cost of more than $400 million. He also wooed private foreign capital and it came in large amounts—about $1 billion from U.S. businesses.

While the spending program created some jobs and satisfied the middle class, the politicians and the military (there were plenty of government jobs for friends), it was undertaken at the cost of wild inflation, which hit working people hard. To finance his projects, Kubitschek turned to the printing press to issue new money. When he took office, 80 cruzeiros equaled $1 on the free market; when he left the exchange was 238 to $1. The cost of living rose 275%.

PEASANTS IGNORED: Kubitschek did little to disturb the plantations of the Northeast, where peasants live in abject poverty. For the most part he ignored agriculture; in five years only one major irrigation project was built. When a drought hit in 1959, Kubitschek put 500,000 people on relief.

Yet in the Brazilian political context, Kubitschek had been the most liberal candidate. He ran with support from the unions and from the Left. His opponent, Gen. Juarez Tavora, offered even less for the people.

Progressives also supported Marshal Lott (Kubitschek could not succeed himself, under the law) in 1960 against Quadros, who had a long record as a conservative. But Quadros' promise to end corruption, made believable by his lack of political ties, and his attacks on inflation won the voters. He was elected by the biggest margin in Brazilian history.

Quadros moved against corruption and inflation and, in the process, antagonized many vested interests. He fired 10,000 civil servants and cut the budget by 30%. Almost half the budget had been for the military. Federal employes were put on an eight-hour day; they had been working six-hours, and many held second jobs. "If I can work 16 hours, the least you can do is work eight," Quadros said.

SUBSIDIES ENDED: Quadros ended the government subsidy on imports of petroleum, wheat, newsprint, fertilizers, insecticides and airline equipment, which had been a drain on the treasury. He also tightened credit and devalued the cruzeiro.

To ease the stifling foreign debt, Quadros sought business with non-dollar-bloc nations. A sound economy and a balanced budget, he reasoned, necessitated a new foreign policy. **Independencia** in foreign affairs was his watchword.

Soon after taking office he dispatched three missions abroad: Walter Moreira Salles, a banker and former ambassador to the U.S., went to Washington to seek aid; economist Roberto de Oliveira went to Europe to discuss past debts and to find new investment capital, particularly in West Germany; publisher and neutralist Joao Dantas went to Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary to re-establish diplomatic relations as a prelude to trade.

CUBA DEFENDED: Quadros also moved to re-establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. and he announced that Brazil would vote in the UN to discuss seating China. He defended Cuba's right to go its own way and he blocked hemispheric sanctions against Cuba.

His **independencia** seemed to pay off. He was promised about $2 billion from the West (most from the U.S.) and a similar amount from socialist countries.

But for many, Quadros' programs and stiff-backed methods rocked the gravy boat. There were fewer handouts for the military and for politicians. Corruption investigations touched too close to important homes—Goulart's name even came up in one probe. Quadros' promise of land reform and higher taxes frightened the rich. His diffidence toward persons used to having their opinions heard set off many feuds.

Quadros' critics did not dare attack his anti-inflation or anti-corruption projects, instead they directed their fire at his foreign policy. Catholic Cardinal Jaime de Barros Camera denounced plans to resume relations with the U.S.S.R. U.S. Ambassador John Moors Cabot insisted publicly that Brazil could not be considered an "uncommitted nation." Quadros asked for and got Cabot's recall for "meddling."

Gov. Carlos Lacerda of Guanabara State attacked Quadros for decorating Cuban Minister of Industries Maj. Che Guevara. When Quadros dismissed his protest, Lacerda went on television and said that he had been asked to join a plot to give Quadros more power by sending Congress into permanent recess. There was no proof. Quadros resigned shortly thereafter.

STRIKE WAS SET: Quadros had made few friends among the common people. The brunt of his austerity program fell on the already impoverished wage earner. On the eve of his resignaton, unions were preparing to strike for higher wages and lower prices.

Despite his cordiality toward Cuba, Quadros last spring sent troops and warships against students in Recife who had struck because Guevara's mother was not permitted to speak at a meeting.

Peasants found little for them in Quadros' programs. He spoke vaguely of land reform, but had no plan to break up the large plantations and distribute the land or to build irrigation projects. He proposed instead to move 100,000 persons from the drought area to more humid regions.

NO REAL PROGRAM: Quadros' prediction of unpopularity, which he made almost as a boast, had more truth than perhaps he realized. Beyond his dream of a well-managed economy, he had no over-all program. He disdained long-range planning in favor of a project-by-project approach. His admiration for bankers and his reluctance to upset the plantation system precluded enthusiasm from the common people.

Whatever his shortcomings, Quadros can at least be remembered for having shown Latin America that its best hope lies in **independencia** in foreign affairs.

A song for Utopia

WHEN Kennedy has made his point,
And Khrushchev has averred,
The world is further out of joint,
The season more absurd.

"Folly to fight," they say, "for few,
If any, would survive"—
And they mean you, and you, and you,
And every one alive.

"Yet we will slaughter if we must
For our opponents' sin;
Though we reduce ourselves to dust,
At least **they** will not win."

I hope for times less out of joint,
For seasons less absurd,
When Kennedy will make no point,
And Khrushchev say no word.

—**Barrows Dunham**

Scientist's role in society topic for Harvard meeting

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, to be held at 8 p.m. Saturday, Sept. 9, in Lowell Hall, Harvard University, at Cambridge, Mass., will feature talks by Dr. Brock Chisholm and Dr. William C. Davidon on the role of the scientist in society.

Chisholm, former director general of the World Health Organization, will speak on "Security and Social Responsibility." Davidon's topic will be "Nuclear Science and Human Decisions."

The SSRS, in adopting a statement of purpose last year, cited as a principle "that the individual must abstain from destructive work and devote himself to constructive work, drawing the line between the two according to his own moral judgment."

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The Soviet tests

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TRADE UNION AND PARTY CONFERENCES

Gaitskell pressing British labor for full support of the cold war

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

ALL THE PROPAGANDA resources at the disposal of the Labor Party right wing—and that includes all British newspapers except the **Daily Worker**, as well as the television and radio programs—were prepared to proclaim a Gaitskell victory at the conferences of the Trades Union Congress (it opened Sept. 4) and the Labor Party in October. Even Hugh Gaitskell must pause to wonder why the leader of the Labor Party should be the darling of newspapers which oppose every principle for which his party is supposed to stand.

Few will specify what the Gaitskell "victory" consists of. But Gaitskell and his deputy, George Brown, will try to exploit the situation to crush the left wing.

What is the issue at these conferences? A year ago at the Scarborough conference of the Labor Party, a majority of the unions and the local Labor parties rebuffed the leadership by passing a resolution demanding unilateral abandonment by Britain of the nuclear bomb. Though this conference is the sovereign body of the Labor movement, Gaitskell announced that he would resist the decision, and for a year he has been maneuvering with union leaders to support a new statement on defense drawn up by the right-wing executives of the T.U.C. and the Labor Party. (At this writing it was too early to gauge the effect on the T.U.C. conference of the Soviet decision to resume bomb testing.)

THE PROPOSALS: Some trade unions have been persuaded to reverse their policies through an appeal for unity. Others backed the T.U.C.-Labor leaders' statement because it includes several constructive proposals. A policy victory for Gaitskell and his backers will be used to continue Labor support for the cold war. But it will not alter the fact that the great majority of the Labor movement is against that policy and is pressing for a policy of peace.

The statement on which delegates at the T.U.C. and the Labor conferences will vote calls for multilateral and comprehensive disarmament under international control. It supports the plan for a non-nuclear zone of controlled disarmament in Central Europe and favors neutralizing as much as possible of Africa and Asia from the cold war. It accepts (and this is the paradox of the situation) the abandonment by Britain of the nuclear bomb, the very issue which inspired the campaign for nuclear disarmament. But it welcomes the American bomb, since the independent British bomb, "neither strengthens the alliance, nor is it now a sensible use of our resources."

The statement says the West must never be the first to use the H-bomb, and declares that the improvement in the international climate "will depend on the willingness of the Communist powers" to agree on a real basis for co-existence and on Britain's ability to persuade her allies to accept the policy outlined in the statement.

HUGH GAITSKELL
A favorite of the Tory press

COLD-WAR BACKERS: If this statement were designed to mobilize Labor behind first steps toward breaking the cold-war deadlock, it could be welcomed. But in fact, speeches in Commons by Gaitskell, Brown, and Denis Healey, Labor's spokesmen on foreign policy, give 100% backing to the whole cold-war policy and the nuclear alliances.

This is the significance of the British conference. The crisis is one of leadership. Frank Cousins, whose 1,250,000-member Transport and General Workers Union discussed the situation at a delegate conference, won overwhelming support for a resolution to be presented to both the T.U.C. and the Labor Party conferences. It calls for rejection of any defense policy based on the threat of nuclear attack, for opposition to missile bases or nuclear air patrols in Britain, and for international discussions on ending the cold war.

The fact that Labor leaders oppose this resolution reveals the real situation and their own plan to have the conference give them authority to back every move by the Tory Government and its allies.

THE BACKGROUND: Whatever success this maneuver achieves, it will be temporary. The last foreign affairs debate in which at one stage only 30 of over 600 MPs were in Commons, revealed the bankruptcy of the Labor leadership. Right-wing Labor support of Government threats over Berlin is parallel to the initial support given by Gaitskell to Anthony Eden's Suez Canal policy—an attitude repudiated by Labor hours after the aggression was launched. The failure of the party to oppose Britain's application to join the Common Market brought swift announcement by the employers' organization that Common Market entry would signal all-out opposition to wage increases. The failure to vote against the West German troops' coming to Britain provoked comment from Sir Leslie Plummer that "the party cannot evade responsibility . . . by sitting down and saying, 'We will not do anything'."

Above all, the policies Labor leaders have supported have led to the most vicious attack on working class standards since the economic crisis of 1931, and union leaders cannot remain inactive without losing all support from their members. The only chance of Labor gaining power lies in abandonment of the cold-war alliance with the Conservatives and the creation of working-class unity. The slow but steady increase in membership of the Communist Party, despite all the attacks, is significant.

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BOOKS

Dubious Steinbeck

IN MARCH, 1956, the **Atlantic Monthly** published a story by John Steinbeck entitled **How Mr. Hogan Robbed a Bank.** It was reprinted in the March, 1959, issue of **Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine.** Hogan, a respectable married citizen in a small town, holds up the bank which adjoins the store where he works as a grocery clerk. Wearing a Mickey Mouse mask cut out of a cereal box, he motions the teller to the floor, scoops up several thousand dollars, and returns to his job before his absence can be noticed. When he gets home that day, he gives his son and daughter a $5 bill each to celebrate his son's having won honorable mention in a national **I Love America** essay contest.

In **The Winter of Our Discontent,*** Steinbeck has turned his little potboiler into a full-length novel by saddling his hero with a moral burden that reminds me of the old gag: "He went downhill rapidly, shot his best friend last month and started smoking two weeks ago." Pure chance prevents Ethan Allen Hawley—he has been re-christened to make him a rock-ribbed New Englander—from carrying out his implausible robbery, but he does manage to betray his trusting Sicilian-born boss to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He also connives at the alcoholic suicide of a boyhood chum by offering him $1,000 for a cure he knows will never be taken. The first villainy puts him in possession of the store; the second brings him a meadow which is the town's only airfield site. Like Richard III, he can say

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer . . . .

BUT STEINBECK cannot leave well enough alone. Hawley not only suffers remorse for his own acts; he is driven to the brink of self-destruction on learning that his son's prize-winning essay is a paste-up job from the writings of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and Jefferson and Lincoln's second inaugural address. Why this should shock him is a mystery, since young Allen has already given ample proof of being a chip off the old block—and a semi-literate one at that. In the end, fat on the proceeds of his perfidy, he persuades himself to go on living so that his daughter will not be discouraged from helping to light the world with her integrity. She, like Ethan, has informed on her brother, but, unlike Ethan, disinterestedly. This hodge-podge might have made a comedy, but the author steers sternly past the rocks of laughter onto the open sea of ethics. The voyage is dubious; worse, it is not even authentic.

Granville Hicks (in the **Saturday Review,** June 24) wrote that "Ethan might conceivably rob a bank, but he would not betray his friends." The opposite is true; informing is just what he is capable of, that repulsive moralist who plans to leave the straight and narrow only long enough to restore the family status. Why then did Steinbeck get cold feet and turn his cardboard Richard, who calls Italians guineas and his wife "Pigeon Flake," into something like a speech writer for the President? If Ethan was not to be trusted when he lied to others, why should we listen to him when he is lying to himself as well? Or is there such a prevalence of hypocrites that Steinbeck expects us to do only as the Hawleys say do? If that is so, he might as well serve as the Kennedy Administration's Secretary of Culture.

—Charles Humboldt

**THE WINTER OF OUR DISCONTENT, by John Steinbeck. Viking. 311 pp. $4.50.*

ADVERTISEMENT

(Reprinted from the New York Times, Tuesday, Aug. 29)

"One false step over Berlin could easily plunge Europe into war."—
The Earl of Home, Great Britain's Foreign Secretary in the House of Lords, July 19th.

WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT
—with nuclear weapons—
IS THE MAIN ISSUE IN BERLIN

• The defeated enemy of 1945 has become a leading military power in 1961. It seeks an ***independent*** war making power through the possession of nuclear arms and missiles.

• This is the keystone of the Berlin crisis. The Soviet Union is in unalterable opposition to the nuclear rearmament of West Germany. "Militarists of the Federal Republic of Germany have already got hold of rocket weapons and are insistently demanding atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr," said the Soviet note given to President Kennedy in Vienna. Premier Khrushchev emphasized, "The question of a peace treaty is the question of the national security of the U.S.S.R. and many other states." Twenty million Russians dead in World War II give emphasis to Soviet insistence on this question.

• Leading Western Statesmen consider Russia's fears reasonable.

• On July 25th President Kennedy pointed out, ***"We recognize the Soviet Union's historical concern about their security in Central and Eastern Europe after a series of ravaging invasions."***

• Britain's Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, stated on July 19th, "We have never insisted on the status quo" in Berlin. ***"I would go further," he declared, "and say there is a great desire [by the British] to deal fairly with Russia's legitimate desires . . . and to take into account her legitimate fears—and some of her fears may be very real."***

• But the military resurgence of West Germany is a matter of concern not for the Russians alone. With Nazi generals once more in positions of power in the West German Bundeswehr, our country, Great Britain, the whole world has legitimate cause for fear. All must face up to the fact that a time bomb is being built into the German picture by the proposed rearmament of West Germany with nuclear weapons. ***The risks of atomic annihilation will increase beyond measure if the German militarists are given the green light on nuclear war making capacity.***

• If peace in Europe—and the world—is to be saved, the Great Powers ***must*** negotiate and settle their differences over Berlin. To think in terms of a military resolution of the Berlin crisis is to court the final folly. War in Europe will not guarantee anybody's rights. It will bring all mankind to the brink of nuclear annihilation.

The stated Soviet proposal is to establish a demilitarized city, its freedom guaranteed by the United Nations and backed by token garrisons of American, French, British and Soviet troops.

The postwar agreements among the wartime allies give the Western Powers two rights in Berlin: the right to station troops there and the right to supply them.

Neither is threatened by this proposal.

The Berlin Crisis Can Be Settled—if the four powers will agree . . .

- ***To halt the rearmament of West Germany;***
- ***To make all Central Europe an arms free area.***

Please write or wire the President, the Secretary of State and your Representatives in Congress, urging that the conflict over Berlin be settled by negotiation, no matter how long or how difficult. Insist that our government reconsider its position on rearming West Germany. An agreement which denies war making capacity to the aggressive West German government and which disarms Central Europe can be a big step toward insuring durable peace in the nuclear age.

A Public Statement by: THE CONFERENCE OF GREATER NEW YORK PEACE GROUPS
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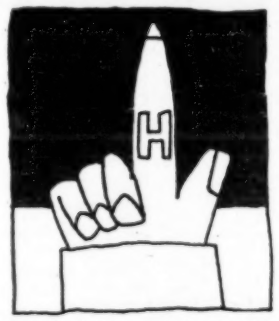
the SPECTATOR

The Bomb in Japan

THE DISMAYING SOVIET ANNOUNCEMENT of plans to renew nuclear weapons testing recalls for the writer, who was chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Seventh World Conference Against A and H Bombs in Tokyo last month, a significant aspect of that meeting. Formulation of the Conference position on testing was a major subject of debate among the delegates.

The final resolution of the Tokyo Peace Conference said: "At present there are ominous threats in the United States to resume nuclear tests. In defiance of world opinion the French Government has continued her nuclear tests. We must not permit resumption of nuclear tests. Any difference of opinion over an agreement to ban tests must not be utilized as an excuse for resumption of tests. If nuclear tests are resumed now, it is obvious that the arms race will be accelerated. The first government to resume tests should be denounced as the enemy of peace and of mankind. To conclude an agreement on the ban on nuclear tests is urgent as part of a total ban on nuclear weapons and total abolition of armaments."



All delegates to the Conference, including those from the Soviet Union and China and the other socialist countries, agreed.

ALTHOUGH THERE WAS a general feeling among the delegates that it was the United States that most seriously threatened to renew bomb testing, the theme of categorical opposition to such tests was sharply stated in the general report of Prof. Kaori Yasui, chairman of the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs and in the keynote report which opened the Seventh World Conference on Aug. 9. The keynote report stated:

"We shall never allow any nuclear testing at all. If any nation should resume nuclear testing in the future, that nation must stand accused as the enemy of humanitarianism for her infringement upon the earnest efforts for peace by the peoples of the world. Towards this end, we must organize public opinion further in an attempt to realize an immediate agreement on a nuclear test ban . . ."

The Conference delegations from China and the Soviet Union and some from the colonial areas sought to aim the anti-bomb test approval almost exclusively at the United States. Such an unbalanced approach had been made by the 1960 Conference. Thus the draft of the "Report on the Preliminary Sessions of the Seventh (1961) World Conference" said: "In order to achieve the adoption of an [anti A and H bomb] agreement as soon as possible, it is necessary to inform all people of the intention of the U.S. government to resume atomic and hydrogen bomb tests."

The U.S. delegation to the Conference vigorously objected to this language and insisted successfully that responsibility for continuing the test ban be directed at all the powers possessing nuclear capability. At the outset of the Conference, the U.S. group said it would not accept an unbalanced anti-bomb test statement such as was adopted in 1960. In the basic policy statement to the Conference on behalf of the American delegation, Dr. Corliss Lamont referred to the gentleman's agreement to stop open-air nuclear testing" as a "hopeful sign." He told the Conference that "the peoples of the world must see to it that **no** government resumes such tests."

WHILE THE JAPAN COUNCIL has called the Soviet decision to renew tests "extremely regrettable, coming as it does in the midst of an already tense world situation," its "Recommendations for International Common Action," adopted Aug. 14, 1961, at the Seventh World Conference, gain new urgency. This is what it said:

"We call on the people of the world to do their utmost to prevent the resumption and continuance of nuclear tests . . . We call on the peace forces of the world to focus world-wide united action at the time of the General Assembly of the UN in September and October, to which they are urged to send their petitions in every possible form, including letters and telegrams, both to the UN and the governments of the countries concerned."

—Russ Nixon

Aronson, Lamont Talks Sept. 12, 13

GUARDIAN EDITOR James Aronson will speak on "Misinformation and the Press" on WBAI-FM (99.5) in New York on Sept. 13 at 7 p.m. The program, part of the station's commentary series, will be rebroadcast Sept. 14 at 9:15 a.m.

•

DR. CORLISS LAMONT will discuss his recent trip to Japan as a delegate to the seventh annual World Conference Against A and H Bombs on the television program "At Your Beck and Call," WNTA-TV (Channel 13), Sept. 12 from 8:30 to 10 p.m.

Lamont will also be interviewed on the Casper Citron Show on WRFM, Sept. 19, 11 p.m. to midnight. The program will be rebroadcast Sept. 20 at midnight on WNTA radio.

For the facts

FOND DU LAC, WIS.

I get more facts in the GUARDIAN in one issue than reading the commercial press for one year and watching TV.

Charles Taplin